

As a founding member of the NAACP Dr. DuBois believed that an important goal for African-Americans was the utilization of any and all educational opportunities. He stressed the need for African-Americans to promote their own cultural and social values.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, Booker T. Washington delivered a famous speech in 1895, which outlined his philosophy of vocational education as an avenue of advancement. Mr. Washington's speech at the Atlanta Exposition urged the African-Americans at that time to try and gain an industrial education in order to make use of the rural areas where many blacks lived. Although his views were considered controversial at the time, he helped to further the dialog that led to equal rights for all of America's citizens.

Mr. Speaker, these three men made their mark on history by pursuing truth, justice and equality. They were truly great statesmen, and great leaders.

Mr. VISCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take part in this Special Order on Black History Month to recognize the achievements and contributions that African-Americans have made to our country. I would like to thank Congressman LOUIS STOKES and Congressman DONALD M. PAYNE for organizing this opportunity to applaud the accomplishments of the African-American culture. Since 1976, the month of February has been celebrated as Black History Month. But the origins date back to 1926 when Dr. Carter G. Woodson had the vision to set aside a week in the month of February to celebrate the accomplishments and heritage of African-Americans.

Indeed, it would be foolish not to recognize such a large part of our heritage. On the national scene, the contributions that African-Americans have made to our society are innumerable. Through literature, we have been blessed with the powerful writings of Maya Angelou, W.E.B. DuBois, and Alice Walker. We all have received joy from listening to the stirring melodies of Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin and Duke Ellington.

While all of these are important contributions, what I find to be of equal importance are those of people who are in our own community: The men and women who live down the street, attend the same church with you, or whose children play with your own. These men and women have performed extraordinary acts of bravery and selflessness that should make us all proud. Indeed, Alonzo Swann, a World War II veteran from Northwest Indiana, was just awarded the Navy Cross for showing extraordinary bravery in the face of Japanese Kamikaze attacks.

The theme for Black History Month this year is "Reflections on 1895: Douglass, Dubois and Washington." In keeping with the dedication to education and political involvement these men supported, Ms. Patricia Harris, Supervisor of the Gary Community School Corporation's Staff Development Center, sponsored several events that helped to educate the citizens of

club facilities at Freeman Field in Seymour, Indiana and were consequently threatened with court martial. An independent commission of inquiry, appointed by President Truman, exonerated the airmen and ordered integration of the club. In addition to Mr. Smith, Ms. Dharthula Millender spoke about the origins of the City of Gary and the crucial role that African-Americans had in forming the city. In the city's first census, African-Americans numbered 100 of the first 334 people in the area. Ms. Millender also pointed out that as Northwest Indiana's steel mills grew, steelworkers were recruited from all over the U.S. and in many European countries. The result was that, from its beginning, the people of Gary had an appreciation for its multi-ethnic community.

The goal of these programs is to teach Gary's parents and children about their community's history. I commend Patricia Harris and the staff of the Staff Development Center for taking the initiative to make the teachings of Black History Month extend throughout the rest of the year. By having our children learn about a part of their culture, we can help ignorance give way to understanding and realize that we all are created equal. In closing, I commend and thank all of the people of Northwest Indiana, who in their own special way have brought special meaning to this month. Again, I would like to thank my distinguished colleagues, Congressmen STOKES and PAYNE, for giving the U.S. House of Representatives this special opportunity to celebrate Black History Month.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Under the Speaker's previously announced policy of January 4, 1995, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS] for 60 minutes.

Mr. OWENS. I want to congratulate, Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and congratulate the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History for their theme this year on Black History.

Mr. Speaker, in the interest of maintaining the continuity that we have started, I am going to reserve my own comments and let my colleagues who have been waiting go at this point ahead of me.

I would like to first yield to the gentleman from Puerto Rico, Governor Romero-Barceló.

Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ. I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding some time for me to speak on this occasion to commemorate the outstanding African-Americans throughout this Black History Month.

Mr. Speaker, there have been some outstanding African-Americans in

with a special focus on Black History, because in those days they did not give blacks too much of an opportunity for the leading roles.

And of course, one who needs no explanation as to the things he has done throughout his lifetime, the outstanding player, one of the most outstanding players in the All-American game, Roberto Clemente.

But there is an African-American in Puerto Rico whose influence transcends all of them, and I refer to Dr. Jose Celso Barbosa.

Mr. Speaker, as we continue to celebrate Black History Month, I wanted to take this opportunity to honor the memory of Dr. José Celso Barbosa, the founding father of Puerto Rico's statehood movement, founding father of the Republican Party in Puerto Rico and the island's most prominent and distinguished African-American leader.

Born in the City of Bayamón, PR, on July 27, 1857, Dr. Barbosa dedicated his whole life to his struggle for political and economic equality for all Puerto Ricans. He was very instrumental in the extension by Congress in 1917 of U.S. citizenship to all persons born in Puerto Rico.

From very humble origins—his father was a craftsman—Dr. Barbosa contributed to make our goal of achieving political and economic equality through statehood, no longer a distant dream, but a reality well within our reach.

A very intelligent and dedicated student, he graduated with honors in 1875 from the Conciliate Seminary School. Five years later he graduated with a doctor's degree in medicine and surgery from the University of Michigan. In so doing, Dr. Barbosa was the first black Puerto Rican and one of the first island residents to graduate from a university in the continental United States.

Back in his native Puerto Rico, Dr. Barbosa acquired a solid reputation both as a doctor and as a respected citizen. At the age of 23, he started to become involved in Puerto Rican politics.

When the sovereignty change came to Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War in 1898, Dr. Barbosa began his struggle so that Puerto Ricans would benefit from the American political process and the democratic values that he had experienced first-hand during his earlier years as a student in Michigan.

In 1899, Dr. Barbosa founded and organized Puerto Rico's Republican Party, committed to achieving political and economic equality through statehood for the island. He devoted the rest of his life to this purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I thank you for the opportunity to bring to the attention of our colleagues in the House of Representatives the accomplishments of Dr. José Celso Barbosa, Puerto Rico's Dr. Martin Luther King. He was truly an exceptional individual whose legacy runs deep in the hearts of all Puerto Ricans.

□ 2120

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Puerto Rico [Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ], and to continue our special observance of Black History Month I yield to the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON].

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, nearly 70 years ago, Dr. Carter G. Woodson launched a tradition of celebrating the legacy of African-Americans. "Black History Month" began to be officially acclaimed a half century later, in 1976. The contributions and achievements of African-Americans is a subject rich in substance and worthy of recognition. The history of blacks in America is a compelling story that must be told and retold.

James Weldon Johnson, in his renowned work, "The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man," captured the importance of telling history—particularly black-American history—again and again. "Every race," he said, "and every nation should be judged by the best it has been able to produce, not by the worst." I believe, Mr. Speaker, too often black Americans are judged by a distorted image of who we are and what we stand for. Too often, the portrait of black America is painted with a muddled brush—one that fails to render an accurate depiction of what we have given to the construction of this nation.

We are heroes in defense of democracy, like Crispus Attucks, the first to die in the Boston Massacre; like the 9th and 10th calvaries and the 24th and 25th infantries—best known as the Buffalo Soldiers, who helped win Texas and the Southwest; like Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., the first black general; and like private first class Milton L. Olive III, who was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. During the Vietnam war, he fell on an exploding grenade, taking his own life to save the lives of his fellow soldiers, black and white. We have shed our blood in battle and given our lives to preserve those words of freedom, "liberty", "justice", "equality". We are scientists and inventors, like Benjamin Banneker, who helped plan Washington, D.C.; like Dr. Charles Drew, a blood plasma researcher, who set up the first blood bank in England; and

actors, like Maya Angelou, who knows why the caged bird sings; like Ralph Ellison, who pondered the question of the black-American as, *The Invisible Man*; like Alex Haley, who discovered his Roots and raised the consciousness of the nation and the world; and like Phyllis Wheatley, whose poems have played an historical role in the growth of black literature. We are artists, musicians, television personalities, lawyers and judges, educators, athletes, politicians and leaders. But, we are also small farmers, common laborers, maids, dishwashers, construction workers, food service employees, and some of us are recipients of public assistance. A disproportionate number of us, however, are minimum wage workers, with families, thrust below the poverty line. We ask not for charity, but a chance—a chance to meet our obligations—to feed, clothe and shelter our families. We too want welfare reform. The best welfare reform is a job at a livable wage. We too want to rid our communities of crime. The best crime bill is a jobs bill. We too want a balanced budget. But, balance the budget in a fair way, not just on the backs of those who broke their backs picking this Nation's cotton. We too want to eliminate teenage pregnancies. But, we will resist with all of our might, the attempt to take nutrition from pregnant women, children and seniors. This year, we place special recognition on the lives and legacies of three great and powerful black men, Frederick Douglass, William E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington. Yes, we are men, and we are women, like Rosa Parks; Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. But, perhaps most importantly, Mr. Speaker, we are Americans. We are no different than those who populate this great Nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and all points in between. We want what they want—a decent life, a strong family, a home, security, something to aspire to and a place at the bountiful table that is America.

These are tough times in America. But, like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. reminded us on one occasion:

The test of good government is not where it stands or what it does when times are good. The true test of good government is where it stands and what it does when times are tough.

African-Americans have given their best to this Nation. Some want to underscore the worst. The best far outweighs the worst. We pause on this day and during this month of celebrate our best. Much more is yet to come.

her remarks.)
Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Mr. Speaker, I do humble thank the gentleman from New York.

Mr. Speaker, as I rise in this great House to speak in commemoration of Black History Month, I am strengthened by the rich contributions of my ancestors.

Reflecting upon the year 1895, I am moved to think of the state that found America herself in during the Reconstruction era. Thirty years after the abolition of slavery, newly found freedoms were being negotiated against newly found means of oppression. Emancipation and liberation were met by Jim Crow laws and black codes; eager men and women with hopes for education and opportunity were handed miseducation and disenfranchisement; children who had heard stories of a better life were left having their dreams deferred. Although America had ended its Civil War, an even more insidious war was being waged—the war of racial intolerance. Hope, however, continued to abound among a people hungry for opportunity.

My friends, standing here a mere 100 years post 1895, I am heartened by the progress that we have made as a nation, and yet standing here a mere 5 years before the dawn of a new century, I am filled with great trepidation. When our allies come to us for military assistance, no other nation takes up the banner of national defense faster than the United States. When human rights abuses are brought to our attention, we are vigilant in our pursuit of justice and fairness. Mr. Speaker, America's own private war is destroying our Nation. As America moves its great caravan of truth and justice across the globe, our righteous cries of fairness and equity are being drowned out by the piercing rattle of the skeletons of hypocrisy that reside in our darkest closets.

Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist commented some 30 years ago that America's greatest problem would be that of race relations. As we herald the accomplishments of African-Americans today in this Black History Observance, we all should recommit ourselves to the quests of our ancestors excellence and opportunity. African-American history in the country is to be lauded.

While we take pride in saluting the great African-American scientists and inventors, America remains a nation still needing to heal. While we marvel at the majesty and grace of African-American performers and artists—America is still groping to implement racial equality. As I stand in this great

democracy and for real inclusion. Reflecting upon 1895 and upon the memory of Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, and Booker T. Washington, the vision that each held continues to burn passionately in those of us who bear their legacy.

I am indebted to Frederick Douglass, who was born into bondage, sold repeatedly in the slave markets of the South, yet who secretly taught himself to read and write. Up to his death in 1895, his defiance against the pervasive system of racial inhumanity enabled him to speak out and to illustrate the moral dilemma that America embodied. Frederick Douglass empowers all of us today.

Known as the intellectual father of modern African-American scholarship, W.E.B. DuBois worked fervently to establish the NAACP, edited and published "The Crisis," founded the Pan African Congresses, and made pilgrimages to Ghana. DuBois' international leadership set the stage in 1895 for a global African-consciousness movement that reverberates today from Haiti to Soweto. His presence is affirmed in this great House today, and my colleagues and I are honored to carry on his legacy.

As Booker T. Washington struggled through Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, the Great Wizard of the Negro who eloquently expressed himself at the Niagara Conference and at the Atlanta Exposition, urged us all to be diligent in our work. He spoke of action and commitment. He exemplified his dedication through establishing Tuskegee Institute, and his tenacity left us a chronicle of his life through his autobiography, "Up From Slavery." Mr. Washington, my colleagues and I have heard your call to action, and we stand here ready to move.

Mr. Speaker, now if I may personally salute the African-Americans of the 18th Congressional District of Texas. Hard-working, dedicated Americans reflected in the lives of the late Zollie Scales, Dr. John B. Coleman, Jack Yates, Hattie White, Christie Adair, Moses Leroy, and others.

Mr. Speaker, as I reflect upon Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, and Booker Taliaferro Washington, let us honor the memory of these great American patriots by affirming the principles for which they pledged their lives. We, Mr. Speaker, you—me—and our colleagues, have an opportunity to send strong messages to the American people as we consider the balance of the legislation pending before us. Let us move away from race-baiting descriptions of programs and proposals,

creating a 12-member committee from the back of a dying man, is not progress. We cannot be content with incremental change.

Mr. OWENS. I thank the gentlewoman from Texas, and I yield now to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. JEFFERSON].

Mr. JEFFERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus for special orders in conjunction with Black History Month. Each year, CBC members speak on important contributions to the African-American community, individuals or organizations. This year, I have chosen to honor the Congressional Black Caucus itself as it celebrates 25 years of service to the African-American community in America and, indeed, to all of America.

The Congressional Black Caucus was born in 1970, when 13 African-American Members of Congress joined ranks to strengthen their efforts to address concerns of blacks, women, Hispanic, Asians, and other disadvantaged citizens.

Mr. Speaker, it did not take long for the fledgling caucus to capture national attention. In March, 1971, the CBC made headlines presenting President Richard Nixon with 60 recommendations for government action on domestic and foreign policy issues.

Although President Nixon did not respond positively to the recommendations, his less than adequate response strengthened the resolve of the original members of the CBC to continue on its new found mission.

During the past 25 years, the CBC has blossomed as a strong and progressive voice for alternative legislative programs.

Mr. Speaker, let me name just a few of the CBC's achievements during its quarter century of existence.

In 1972, the CBC convened hearings on "Racism in the Media" and a national policy conference on "Education for Black Americans."

In 1974, the CBC introduced the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act to reduce unemployment and inflation which became law in 1977.

In 1977, the CBC established the National Black Leadership Roundtable; and, in Congress, amended the Public Works Employment Act to provide for 10 percent of the \$4 billion of authorized Federal funds to be spent with minority firms.

In 1980, the Caucus offered the first CBC constructive alternative budget and published "Black Voter Guidelines" for elections that year.

created four major Federal minority enterprise programs—the most notable in the \$32 billion Defense Authorization bill.

In 1989 the CBC cofounded the Parliamentary Black Caucus in the British Parliament.

And in 1992, the CBC pushed through important legislation for financial assistance for the college education of disadvantaged, and for historically black colleges.

Mr. Speaker, these are just a few of the significant accomplishments of the Congressional Black Caucus.

The Congressional Black Caucus has grown in numbers, diversity, expertise and influence during the past 25 years.

New members represent urban and rural areas, the east coast and west coast, the North and South and agricultural and manufacturing centers.

They come to the U.S. Congress uniquely prepared to serve, many bringing a wealth of experience in State and local governments as well as the desire to make an immediate impact on issues important to the poor, the underprivileged, women, African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and the middle class.

In fact, the 40-member Congressional Black Caucus turned the 103d Congress into the most productive in its history—passing motor-voter legislation, tax incentives for private investment in minority venture capital funds, improved earned income tax benefits, enterprise zone legislation and full funding for the Women, Infant and Children program, and for Head Start.

As the 41-member Congressional Black Caucus begins its second quarter century of work, its members will face new challenges. These new challenges will, I am confident, be dealt with like the old ones, with persistent, dogged commitment, with strong, solid leadership and with experienced and determined membership.

As the members of the Congressional Black Caucus' silver anniversary, we pause to remember the Congressional Black Caucus itself, with grateful hearts and with a deep and justifiable pride. The caucus' accomplishments, indeed its continued existence have contributed significantly to not only African-American History, but also to American history for the last quarter of a century. It has truly been the conscience of the Congress and the conscience of the nation.

With God's help, may it always be so.

□ 2140

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Louisiana.

slaveowner's wife, who once he found out what was going on, stopped it, but Frederick Douglass ran away. He became a runaway slave, and his record, as you know, speaking out for women, speaking out for abolitionists and so forth, was really a tremendous record.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say that Frederick Douglass also had John Brown spend a month with him before John Brown had the raid on Harper's Ferry, and tried to convince him that he was not sure that that was the right way to go. As we know, there was that whole incident of John Brown, and later Denmark Veasy, who attempted to free slaves in South Carolina.

As a matter of fact, there was a commerce clause that today is the basis of interstate commerce, which was denied by the Supreme Court. They would not take up the fact that there should be interstate commerce controlled by the Federal Government because slaves were a part of the interstate commerce, and the courts did not want to rule on whether slavery should be, then, a national problem, and left it to the States.

When we look at some of the things that happened, it is so important that we recall our history and what impact it has had on this Government.

Let me just say, the first Black History celebration was on August 25 in 1893, when Frederick Douglass, at a World's Fair celebrating 400 years of the founding of this country, had colored Americans there, so the real first observance, as I mentioned before, happened to be in 1893.

Actually, in 1895 a woman by the name of Josephine Bruce put forth the proposal before the organization of the National Council of Colored Women's Clubs, which later became the National Council of Negro Women, and she put a formal proposal before her organization to say, "Let's have Negro history week."

Interestingly enough, it was defeated. Then, of course, we do know that in 1926, Carter G. Woodson moved forward, and we have this whole question of African-American History Month today.

I just want to mention very quickly in the remaining minutes that I have that African-Americans have been participants in our history from the beginning. We have had approximately 5,000 African-Americans fight in the Revolutionary War, but it was not until the British invited all blacks to join its forces, promising freedom as a reward, that then George Washington decided to allow blacks to fight for the colonial people.

I would just like to say in conclusion the fact that at the battle of Savannah in the Civil War, it was a group of troops from Haiti that fought so valiantly at that battle, and it really reversed the history of this country, because, as you know, the Haitian army back in the late 1700's defeated the British and the French.

Napoleon then had to sell the Louisiana Purchase to the United States of America at 15 cents an acre, which gave the land west of the Mississippi to the United States Government, which therefore relieved the French's threat on the United States Government, because France and the United States were still battling each other. When we look at our history, we can thank the Haitian military for eventually causing the French to have to sell all that territory.

Let me conclude by saying there are some heroes today. We have seen Ron Brown, who has brought more trade to this United States of America, \$40 billion from China, \$7 billion recently from India, an outstanding person, but under attack.

We see a Dr. Foster, a hero of today, who should be appointed. We see a Lannie Guinier, who should have had an opportunity, but it was taken away before she could do what she could have done positively for this country. We see Joycelyn Elders, today an outspoken person who was doing the job well, but was brought down from her position, and Mike Espy.

As we talk about heroes of the past, I would like to say that we must continue to support those outstanding Americans today, the Ron Browns, that are making this Nation a better place for all of us.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey.

I yield to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SCOTT].

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York and the gentleman from Ohio for organizing this special order on Black History Month.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to call the attention of the House to Black History Month. As I reflect on the importance of this celebration I am reminded of the commitment of Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Dubois, and Booker T. Washington to bettering their communities and the Nation. Like many other men and women, these individuals spent their lives fighting for equality and opportunity for all of America's citizens. While each differed in his approach, each one of these men recognized and utilized education as a vital

same skills and opportunities to his peers both as an orator and as a crusader against slavery. Ultimately, Frederick Douglass recognized that education is necessary in order to obtain both freedom and equality.

Like Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Dubois, a graduate of Fisk University and the first African-American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard, also exemplified the importance of education and national progress. Not only was Dr. Dubois committed to his personal scholarship, he spent his life providing research and education resources to African-Americans nationwide. As a founding father of the NAACP, DuBois provided the Nation with the Crisis magazine, which continues today as the literary arm of the NAACP. In addition, he taught at both Wilberforce and Atlanta University.

Booker T. Washington, much like Dubois and Douglass, also made education a paramount part of his work and life. As the proud graduate of Hampton University, which is located in my district, Mr. Washington sought to provide access and resources to communities that were disadvantaged and disenfranchised. Believing that education would assist in achieving economic equity, Booker T. Washington founded Tuskegee University in 1881.

Recognizing the legacy of education that these men have given us, we are charged with no less of a commitment to education today. It is our responsibility to ensure that each American has access to a quality education. We must support and defend those institutions and programs that make such access and equity possible.

Keeping that in mind, Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize the 103 historically black colleges and universities [HBCU's] that are currently working tirelessly to provide education to students nationwide. In particular, I would like to recognize Mr. Washington's alma mater, Hampton University, as well as Norfolk State University, Virginia Union University, St. Paul's College, and Virginia State University which have graduated many of our Nation's leaders and continue to serve the residents of Virginia and the Nation as a whole. As we celebrate Black History Month and recognize HBCU's, I must also acknowledge the 50th anniversary of the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association [CIAA] basketball tournament that is being celebrated this week. The CIAA is the Nation's largest African-American athletic association.

Mr. Speaker, education continues to be essential to freedom as well as to

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Virginia, and I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WATT].

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I pay tribute to my distinguished colleague, Representative EVA M. CLAYTON, the first black Congresswoman ever elected from North Carolina (representing the First Congressional District).

I am especially pleased to recognize Congresswoman CLAYTON, because I was privileged to join her in the 103d Congress, as one of two African-American Representatives elected from North Carolina since 1901, 94 years ago.

In recognition of Black History Month and in honor of this special Representative, I am pleased to submit a paper entitled "The Election of Eva M. Clayton as the First Black Congresswoman from North Carolina," written by Philip A. Grant, Jr., professor of history at Pace University in New York, which documents this historic event.

Mr. Speaker, this paper is being made a part of the RECORD at this point in the RECORD, as follows:

On October 4, 1991 Congressman Walter B. Jones of North Carolina formally announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election to a fifteenth term. Jones, a seventy-eight year old Democrat, had initially entered the House of Representatives in 1966, after winning a special election to fill a vacancy in North Carolina's First Congressional District. Since 1981, Jones had occupied the post of Chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

The First Congressional District had been created by the North Carolina Legislature on June 16, 1961, at which time the "Tarheel State" lost one of its existing twelve districts. Based on well-documented population patterns, the boundaries of the First District were slightly altered after the Censuses of 1970 and 1980. Located in close proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, the First District was primarily rural in character and solidly Democratic in terms of party registration.

Throughout the nineteen seventies and nineteen eighties Congressman Jones seldom encountered political difficulty in his numerous House campaigns. Because of Jones' enormous personal popularity and the indisputable fact that the veteran incumbent was in the process of accumulating valuable seniority, formidable Democratic primary challenges simply did not materialize.

When Jones announced his decision to retire, it was anticipated that several candidates would opt to seek the Democratic and Republican congressional nominations. While the Republican Party has grown steadily in eastern North Carolina since the late nineteen sixties, no G.O.P. candidate from 1970 to 1990 has polled more than 35.2% of the popular vote in the First District. Consequently, the victor in the 1992 Democratic

for the First District seat.

Inasmuch as North Carolina would gain a House seat because of its sustained population growth over the previous decade, the Legislature would have the task of redrawing the boundaries of the state's congressional districts. When the Legislature failed to produce an acceptable plan, a panel of three federal judges resolved the question. According to the court ruling of February 6, 1992, the Black population of the new First District was estimated at 57.3%.

The First District consisted of twenty-eight counties extending from the Virginia line to approximately ten miles of the South Carolina border. While twenty-one of these twenty-eight counties were rural in complexion, the district also included a number of eastern North Carolina's urban centers. Among the cities located within the confines of the district were Wilmington, Fayetteville, New Bern, Greenville, Wilson, Rocky Mount, and Henderson.

Competing against one another in the May 5 Democratic primary were seven candidates, four Blacks and three whites. Generally regarded as the foremost Democratic candidates were Eva M. Clayton, a Black, and Walter B. Jones, Jr., a white. Clayton was a Warren County Commissioner, while Jones, the son of the retiring incumbent, was a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives.

North Carolina law provided that a minimum of forty percent of the popular vote was required to win a party primary, whenever more than two rival candidates were involved. Since Jones obviously benefitted from name recognition, he was striving to reach the forty percent threshold. On primary night Jones assumed a modest lead over Clayton, but fell short of the necessary forty percent. The official returns were: Jones, 33,634 (38.7%); Clayton, 27,477 (31.6%); Others, 25,855 (30.7%).

The failure of any candidate to prevail in the Democratic primary made a run-off contest mandatory. Clayton strongly urged Black Democrats to participate in the run-off, believing that a huge Black turnout would certainly enhance her prospects.

In the June 2 run-off primary it appeared that Blacks were voting in record numbers. The preliminary returns indicated that Clayton would defeat Jones by at least five thousands votes. The final returns were: Clayton, 43,210 (54.8%); Jones, 35,729 (45.2%). While Jones gained an additional 2,095 votes over his showing in the first primary, Clayton's total increased by an astounding 15,757.

It was a foregone conclusion that Clayton would win the general election. The highly respected Congressional Quarterly in late October listed North Carolina's First Congressional District in the "Safe Democratic" column. Congressional Quarterly noted that eight-seven percent of the citizens of the First District were affiliated with the Democratic Party.

On November 5, 1992 Clayton overwhelmed her Republican opponent, Ted Tyler, The official tabulation was follows: Clayton, 116,078 (68.1%); Tyler, 54,457 (31.9%). Clayton thus became the first Black woman ever elected to Congress from North Carolina and only the second Black congresswoman ever elected to represent a district in a southern state.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate Black History Month by honoring Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, an African-American North Carolina native who had a vision in the early 1900s: to ensure that all black youth receive the type of education that would fully prepare them for their futures.

Lottie Hawkins was born in 1883 in Henderson, North Carolina. When she was young, the Hawkins family moved to Massachusetts, where she studied at Cambridge High School and Salem State Normal School. Before graduating from high school, young Lottie changed her name to Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins.

At age 18, Miss Hawkins accepted a teaching position from the American Missionary Association to return to her home state to teach at Bethany Institute near Greensboro at a time when North Carolina had the second highest illiteracy rate in the country. Unfortunately, the school closed after Miss Hawkins' first year there. The school closing only made Miss Hawkins even more determined to start her own school. She felt there was a lack of educational opportunities for young blacks in the South. There were approximately 2,400 elementary schools across the country responsible for educating young black children, but many of these schools, she felt, were far from adequate.

Miss Hawkins left for Massachusetts to raise money to finance her dream. She personally met with supporters and even sang for donations at seaside resorts. In 1902, she returned to North Carolina where 15 acres of land and an old log blacksmith's shop were donated to her by a local minister. She used the money raised in Massachusetts to convert the shop into a school, thus making her dream a reality.

The schools' beginnings were extremely humble. Fifteen girls and two teachers including Miss Hawkins slept in cramped quarters in the loft. The rest of the building was occupied by classrooms, a living room and a kitchen. Nevertheless, in November 1902, classes began at the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute. The school was named for Miss Hawkins' benefactor and friend who was also the second female president of Wellesley College in Massachusetts.

After its opening, the school was faced with ever-present financial battles. Although tuition was \$5.00 a month, many of the students at Palmer found it difficult to manage. The school was involved in letter-writing campaigns and the students themselves worked the land to help keep expenses

ness with living in Sedalia. Still Mrs. Brown continued to move forward. Under her direction, the school grew to more than 350 acres of land. Donations and community and student involvement enabled the construction of several frame buildings.

The growing needs and changes of the community forced Palmer's curriculum to go from an agriculture and manual training-based curriculum to one that expanded to include more classes in liberal arts, languages, sciences, and dramatics. Elementary education was eliminated and a junior-college level teaching course was added.

Palmer evolved into "an elite institution that prepared African American youth for college." Tuition rose to \$800 per year by the late 1950s and 90 percent of the graduates went on to pursue further education. More and more students began enrolling from around the country.

The school survived three fires and economic hardship. Even with the unfortunate mishaps, the school was able to exult about its 1,000 strong, proud black student graduates. Dr. Brown went on to receive several honorary degrees herself. She often spoke to multi-racial groups of women advocating equality, wrote novels, and was given the nickname "The Mayor of Sedalia" by her community.

On January 11, 1961, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins died. Her legacy which was her school, continued until 1971. Bennett College, a historically black women's college in Greensboro bought the campus.

Today, the Charlotte Hawkins Brown Memorial sits on 40 acres of land in Sedalia, North Carolina, east of Greensboro. The state legislature allocated \$400,000 to purchase the land and partially restore the campus. It is the first historic site honoring an African-American and a woman.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. Speaker, it is customary for the Congressional Black Caucus during this observance of Black History Month to allow Members to speak about whatever aspects of black history they wish to speak of. We have had a number of different testimonials to black history.

I would like to stay close to the theme that has been developed by the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History. Some of my colleagues have dealt with that theme, but I would like to focus on it in more detail and try to relate it to what is currently happening here in the Congress.

nus that they put Douglas, Du Bois, and Booker T. Washington together, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Frederick Douglass.

□ 2200

These are all giants in black history. These are all people of great stature. They happened all to be alive in 1895. In 1895 it was the last year of Frederick Douglass' life. He died in 1895. In 1895 Booker Washington was alive. In 1895 W.E.B. DuBois was alive. W.E.B. DuBois was born in 1868, and he died in 1963. Booker Washington was born in 1856, and he died in 1915. Frederick Douglass was born in 1817, and he died in 1895, a hundred years ago.

I was very much influenced in my life by a book that I stumbled across in the library when I was in the sixth grade called, "Up from Slavery," the autobiography of Booker T. Washington. I have also read the writings of DuBois and Frederick Douglass. We are now in 1995, and the question is of what significance is 1895 to us here in 1995, of what significance are the lives of these three giants in black history?

In 1895 you were past the Civil War, the end of the Civil War, a little more than 25 years. The Civil War, what I choose to call the War Against Slavery, had ended, and in 1895 we had gone through a period in history which is called the Reconstruction, an all too short period where the duly freed slaves were now allowed for a brief time to participate in civic affairs. They actually had the majority in some State legislatures, and the legislature of the State of South Carolina passed some of the most far-reaching social legislation in the history of the country until the New Deal. The legislation of South Carolina performed magnificently, and many other legislatures. There was a whole period where blacks struggle to grapple with the running of towns, counties, and there were blacks who came to Congress also during that period.

But by 1895 this had all come to a crashing halt. In 1895 of course Booker Washington was very much alive, as I said before. That was the last year Frederick Douglass was alive. Frederick Douglass died with a broken heart. He had seen all of the hope of Reconstruction come crashing down, all the hope of progress, of true freedom, of onward and upward advancement for the people of African descent, the former slaves, all that had come crashing down.

The Freed Man's Bureau, which was established shortly after the slaves were freed, had been wiped out. The

there was a great loss of identity that had been projected by 1895 in slaves, and slave leadership, and slave—the former slaves, their leadership in society, their institutions. All were struggling in a hostile environment.

I would like to just comment on the most recent giant who watched all of this happen. DuBois was born in 1868, so he saw the Reconstruction, the last days of the Reconstruction, the first Reconstruction period. He saw it crumble, but DuBois was an exceptionally advantaged individual. He happened to have been born in Massachusetts, an environment which encouraged him to go forward and get ahead.

So, W.E.B. DuBois became the first doctorate. He was the first person of African descent to get a PhD from Harvard, and he was a great intellectual, wrote many books and saw himself as being very important in trying to reconstruct the soul of black folks. He wrote one book called, "The Souls of Black Folk" because he understood that one of the objectives of slavery had been to obliterate the soul of black folk.

The whole institution of slavery was designed to destroy the humanity of the slaves. A slave was to be an efficient beast of burden, and slavery could not do that as long as you were dealing with a human being. You could not let slaves operate as if they were human. You could not allow them to have families. So it was, you know, deliberately that every effort was made to tear families apart. First officially and formally it was against the law for them to get married. They could not get married. They had to devise their own means of being married for short periods of time, but those were only short periods of time where they had their own arrangements among families because families were torn apart frequently by being sold. One, traditionally very young children were taken from their mother's arms and sold into slavery far away. There was no such thing as a mother or a husband being kept with a wife because he happened to be the father of her children. They were sold like animals.

So, you know, the need to restore the soul of the people of African descent was a major preoccupation of DuBois. You have to reconstruct institutions, construct new institutions, because in order to make the slave more effective and efficient as beasts of burden they were cut off from their past tribal customs. They were deliberately loaded on slave ships and brought over here in arrangements which placed slaves next to each other from different tribes so they

practical man. He founded Tuskegee Institute and felt that the first thing the slaves had to do, the ex-slaves, former slaves, had to do was to learn skills, occupations; you know, job training, and less emphasis should be placed on learning the classics, learning the right poetry or dealing with music. The things that DuBois was concerned with was of no concern to Booker T. Washington. Self-help and building a practical economy within the eternal communities of slaves was a preoccupation of Booker T. Washington. He was criticized for not espousing a form of education that would help blacks to become poets, and intellectuals and philosophers. I think some of the criticism is valid, but I think the combination of DuBois' approach and a Booker Washington's approach was that really would have worked best instead of fighting each other, instead of two schools of thought being developed.

It would have been great if they could have come together. Frederick Douglass, the earliest of the three, is a person I would like to focus on. He died in 1895, as I said before, and Frederick Douglass was born a slave. Frederick Douglass was born in a time when it was illegal to teach slaves to read. So the very fact that he learned to read, the very fact that he educated himself, became a great writer, became a great orator, a great thinker, a great organizer; all of that is due to an exceptional set of talents that this individual possessed.

He died in 1895, as I said before. This is 1995. Some of the things that are happening right here in the Congress right now remind me of the era of 1895 and the period leading up to 1895 when the Reconstruction benefits had all collapsed and the people of African descent experienced a great setback. We have forces at work now which are attempting to set back the progress made by the people of African descent, the descendants of slaves, the victims of one of the most heinous crimes ever committed against humanity.

□ 2210

There are attempts being made to roll back the clock and take away programs that provide life and death sustenance to large numbers of people who are poor because of the fact that they are trapped in situations where they cannot go forward. A mismanaged economy has taken away the jobs, and various other problems exist, and these are people who come from a slave background.

not have.

All that was taken away. No descendant of a slave can say they can go back in history and lean on ancestors who had this to pass down, no inheritance, no help whatsoever. That is the lot of people of African descent. They had to make it all by themselves.

I say all this because I understand that in addition to the whole series of onslaughts being waged against certain programs that benefit people of African descent, we now have a threat on affirmative action. There is a coming onslaught against affirmative action which will also finish off some of the benefits gained through what I call the second reconstruction. The period leading up to 1995 has the civil rights in it, the Voting Rights Act, a number of other progressive steps taken to compensate for all that was not done when the slaves were set free.

Now we are talking about a color-blind America. Suddenly we want nobody to be given any extra assistance. We readily understand the need to assist people who are victims of earthquakes. We readily understand the need to assist people who are the victims of floods or people who are the victims of hurricanes. We rush to give assistance to those victims, but we do not want to give assistance to victims trapped in big cities, mismanaged economies where jobs have been taken away, and they are also victims. We do not want to give the same kind of assistance. We also do not want to give assistance in recognition of the fact that there is a slave history.

I want to end on this note, because there will be a continuation of what I have started here. I want everybody to know that Frederick Douglass is most famous for a speech he made in Rochester, New York. He was invited on the 4th of July to address a great gathering there. He was a former slave, but he was invited to address a gathering there. He was known as a great abolitionist, a great orator. And during his address he asked some very blunt questions: Why do you invite me here if you are not interested in helping to end slavery and end the effects of slavery? Why do you invite me here to celebrate freedom, when at this moment dastardly deeds are being done all across the Nation to my people? Why do you invite me?

His confrontation with those who had invited him was so forthright that there was a riot in Rochester. He had to run for his life.

I am afraid that those who want to attack affirmative action and those who want to combine the onslaught

manipulation of those who want to see the world in very simple-minded terms only today is important. They want to erase 200 years of slavery, 200 years of crimes against humanity, unlike any that ever existed.

We do not talk much about this in the African-American community. Nobody wants to dredge up slavery. My parents did not want my teachers to teach me anything about slavery. They felt ashamed of it, the victims being ashamed. I as not ashamed. I was a victim. But for every victim or descendant of victims, there are descendants of criminals, the people who perpetrated that. We do not want to get into that if we are not forced into it. If you force us into it, we have to review what does America owe for all of those years that it officially permitted slavery to exist? In the Constitution, slavery is recognized. A slave is considered three-fifths of a man in the Constitution. So our Government and all that has come after our Government has to bear the burden of blame for letting the institution of slavery exist long after it was established.

What about the 200 million people who were lost in the Atlantic crossing? Very conservative estimates say the slave trade, just the crossing of the Atlantic, bringing the slaves across, there were 200 million people who died coming across. So great was the number of people thrown overboard, that it altered the ecology of the oceans. The sharks even now follow after ships along a trail seeking the flesh that was thrown overboard in all those years, 200 years of the slave trade.

Once the slaves found themselves in this country, they were treated, of course, like beasts of burden. We have all of that that we will be forced to dredge up and forced to discuss. Repatriations. Repatriations are due, but people consider that out of the question, to talk about some kind of compensation for all those 200 years of free labor and for the 100 years after that of illegal segregation and other kinds of repression.

We do not want to deal with that, but we will be forced to deal with it if you are going to attack affirmative action, if you attack the programs that help the most needy people in our communities. We will be forced to have a review of what it is owed, what does this country owe, what do individuals owe, and how might some of these same individuals who insist on persecuting the decedents of slaves, the victims of slavery today, how might some of them fare if we had some genealogists to go back in their history and check and

decade, for 200 years. Nothing like it ever existed, and we hate to have to deal with it. But on this occasion of the observance of Black History Month, I serve warning on all of those out there who want to wage war on little meager efforts to compensate like affirmative action, a very piddling effort to compensate for that heinous crime, all of those who want to take us on, we will be forced to defend ourselves by requesting a review, a thorough review of the crime of slavery and the implications of that crime on all the descendants, the victims and the perpetrators.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. EHLERS (at the request of Mr. ARMEY), on February 21 and today, on account of illness.

Mr. RUSH (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for February 21 and today, on account of personal business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BONIOR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LEWIS, of Georgia, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KLINK, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BECERRA, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HAYWORTH) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. TORKILDSEN, for 5 minutes each day, on February 23 and 24.

Mrs. SEASTRAND, for 5 minutes, on February 24.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes each day, on February 23 and 24.

Mr. HUNTER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TIAHRT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KIM, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, for 5 minutes, on February 23.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. PICKETT.

Mr. KANJORSKI.

Mr. KILDEE.

Ms. DELAURO.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HAYWORTH) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.

Mr. PACKARD.

Mr. FAWELL in three instances.

Mr. COMBEST in three instances.

Mr. MANZULLO.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. OWENS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. UPTON.

Ms. MCCARTHY.

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois.

Mr. LEVIN.

Mr. DIXON.

Ms. BROWN of Florida.

Mr. BONILLA.

Mr. OWENS.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 18 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until Thursday, February 23, 1995, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

387. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting amendments to the fiscal year 1996 appropriations requests for the Departments of Commerce, Education, Energy, and the Interior, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, as well as a revision to a fiscal year 1995 supplemental proposal for the Department of Labor, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 1106(b) (H. Doc. No. 104-39); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. GOSS: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 93. Resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 450) to ensure economy and efficiency of Federal Government operations by establishing a moratorium on regulatory rulemaking actions, and for other purposes (Rept. 104-45). Referred to the House Calendar.

search, and services aimed at prevention of birth defects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SAWYER:

H.R. 1011. A bill to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act applicable to the construction of a hydroelectric project in the State of Ohio; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. BAKER of California (for himself, Mr. LATOURETTE, and Mr. MILLER of Florida):

H.R. 1012. A bill to require equal coverage under a health plan for all children under the age of 27 of an individual who enrolls in the plan under a family class of enrollment; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Economic and Educational Opportunities, and the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois:

H.R. 1013. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to protect consumers through the establishment of standards for long-term care insurance policies; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HASTINGS of Washington:

H.R. 1014. A bill to authorize extension of time limitation for a FERC-issued hydroelectric license; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. KLECZKA (for himself, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. PETRI, and Mr. SENSENBRENNER):

H.R. 1015. A bill to provide for the temporary suspension of the reformulated gasoline rules under the Clean Air Act; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. OWENS (for himself, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. McDERMOTT, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, and Mr. FORD):

H.R. 1016. A bill to establish a Federal housing trust fund to provide decent, safe, and affordable housing for low-income families lacking such housing; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. TRAFICANT:

H.R. 1017. A bill to amend title I of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 to give preference in awarding economic development grants made in connection with community development loan guarantees to cities having high unemployment rates; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Service.

By Mr. PETE GEREN of Texas:

H. Con. Res. 32. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the Sikh nation should be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination in their homeland, Punjab, Khalistan; to the Committee on International Relations.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows: